

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 852

FI 010 030

AUTHOR Masica, Colin
TITLE The Sound System of Indian English. Monograph No. 7.
INSTITUTION Central Inst. of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad (India).
PUB DATE 72
NOTE 19p.
AVAILABLE FROM Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad-500 007, India (\$1.25)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Descriptive Linguistics; *English; English (Second Language); Interference (Language Learning); Language Instruction; Language Research; Language Variation; Phonetics; *Phonology; Pronunciation; *Pronunciation Instruction; *Standard Spoken Usage; *Suprasegmentals
IDENTIFIERS *India; *Indian English

ABSTRACT

The phonology of General Indian English (the region-independent variety of English that is considered the norm for India) is analyzed as a step in establishing a standard pronunciation for classroom use in India. A table is appended which presents English sound discriminations that are difficult for Indian learners with various language backgrounds. (JB)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

ED177852

THE SOUND SYSTEM OF INDIAN ENGLISH



"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Director, CIEFL
Hyderabad, India

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

MONOGRAPH No. 7

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
HYDERABAD - 500 007
INDIA

FL010 030

THIS monograph is based on research conducted at the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad by Mr. Colin Masica, Director of Linguistic Research, 1962-66.

*

First impression 1972

Second impression 1976

Price: Rs. 2/-

Printed at the Da'iratu'l-Ma'arif Press, Osmania University, Hyderabad—500007, A.P.

THE SOUND SYSTEM

OF

GENERAL INDIAN ENGLISH

1. Introduction

1.1. There are in the English-speaking world a number of acceptable or "standard" accents, as well as a number of accents which are felt to be undesirable, either because they are associated with the uneducated, or because they are "foreign," a carry-over of sound-patterns characteristic of some other language, combined with a failure to approximate to those of English.

1.2. To the first category belong Educated Southern British (also known as Received Pronunciation—R.P.), Educated Scottish, Educated Southern, Eastern and General American and Canadian, Educated Irish, Educated Australian, New Zealand and South African English. To the second belong such accents as those of the Cockney, of Liverpool, of Yorkshire—retention of local accent being associated in England, until recently at least, with lack of education. This category is much harder to identify in America, where many educated people continue to speak with a markedly local accent (e.g., of Philadelphia, of Charleston, etc.), and substandardness in language is more a matter purely of grammar than of pronunciation. Finally, in the third category we have such phenomena as a "German" accent, a "Russian" accent, a "Japanese" accent, etc., each showing a gradation from "slight" to "heavy." Irish English, despite the fact that it undoubtedly reflects characteristics of the native Gaelic language of Ireland, belongs not in this category, but, as we have seen, in the first, perhaps because it is well-entrenched in a separate State. We are thus forced to fall back on the ultimate pragmatic criterion for both categories two and three; an "undesirable" accent is an accent one would like to get rid of, while an "acceptable" accent is one which one is content to retain, even when educated.* This subjective factor should be kept in mind during the discussion which follows.

* Provided, of course, that one continues to reside in the area where that accent is appropriate. If the speaker settles in a different area, there may be strong social pressure to "exchange accents," or at least to modify his in the direction of the local norm.

1.3. In our investigations at the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, of the way English is pronounced in India, we discovered, in addition to speakers of the third category, with definite "Hindi" or "Malayalam" or "Bengali" accents (or sometimes, more generalized "South Indian," etc., accents), a considerable body of speakers from all parts of India whose speech, on the analogy of R.P., did not betray their regional origin, or did so only slightly. Yet it was not R.P. or any other of the educated standards mentioned above, although it did share certain characteristics with one or another of them.

1.4. This generalized Indian English, whatever its origin, appears to be the *de facto* norm to which the majority of the 5,000,000-odd speakers of English in India aspire. Ought it not to be (perhaps with certain minor modifications) the *de jure* norm also, for mass-teaching purposes? Before we can discuss this further, we must define more clearly what we are talking about.

2. The sound system of supra-regional Indian English as we found it, compared with that of Southern British.

2.1. Different spoken forms of a language may differ in any of the following ways:

a. In the number of contrasting categories of sounds (phonemes) they employ: *caught*, *cot* = SBr/kɔ:t, kɒt/, WCan + WNGenAm/kat/.

b. In the phonetic norms of these sounds:
SBr + GenAm [æʊ] = SAM [æu] = WCan [əʊ] (e.g., in *about*).

c. In the distributional restrictions on them:
put, *cut*, *but* = NBr/put, kut, but/, SBr/put, kat, bat/ (short /ʊ/ does not occur before /t/ in SBr except after /p/ and /f/).

d. In the assignment of sounds to particular words and morphemes:
past = SBr/pæst/, GenAm/pæsːt/; *ate* = SBr/et/, GenAm/eɪt/;
wrath = SBr/rɔ:tθ/, GenAm/ræθ/.

In this section we shall be discussing the first three; discussion of the fourth is reserved till the next section. (Spoken dialects may also differ in grammar, vocabulary, and word usage; we are concerned here only with phonological aspects.)

2.2. Contrasting sound *categories* of General Indian English and of Educated Southern British (R.P.) are shown as boxes. The usual *phonetic norms* of these sounds are shown by narrow I.P.A. symbols within the boxes. If the category (phoneme) is made up of important positional allophones, these are shown separated from one another by a diagonal line.

2.3. Unfortunately, variation is of the essence of language, and absolute uniformity, especially at the phonetic level, is not to be expected even within the restricted "varieties" set up for discussion here. Fairly frequent phonetic variants (personal or regional) of the norms shown here are shown by I.P.A. symbols enclosed within round brackets () and placed at the bottom of the phonemic "box." Categories distinguished by some but not all speakers are shown by boxes separated by wavy lines.

2.4. Consonants

General Indian

p (ph)	tʰ (tʰ)	t (tʰ)	c (ch)	k (kʰ)
b	d	ɖ	ʃ	g
m	n			ŋ
	l			
	f	s	f	h
		z		
ʋ/w	r		j	

Southern British

ph/p	th/t	tf	kh/k	
b	d	dʒ	g	
m	n		ŋ	
	l/t			
f	θ	s	ʃ	h
v	ð	z	ʒ	
w		r	j	

(Sub-varieties of /r/ and /h/ have not been distinguished.)

Summary of differences :

a. Phonemic.

(1) General Indian lacks the category /ʒ/. It is variously replaced by /j/, /ʃ/ or /z/.

(2) General Indian lacks the distinction between /v/ and /w/. Phone [ʋ], acoustically similar to [v] before front vowels, is found in complementary distribution with a phone similar to /w/.

(3) General Indian turns the fricative categories /θ, ð/ into additional stop categories.

b. Phonetic.

(1) General Indian usually makes use of only one (unaspirated) allophone in the four voiceless stop categories. Many South Indian speakers, however, do aspirate these stops slightly in initial positions (sounds in brackets).

(2) There is only one (unvelarized) allophone of /l/ in G.I.

(3) The sounds /c, ʝ/, corresponding to the SBr /tʃ, dʒ/, are made more with the blade than the tip of the tongue, and also lack the lip-rounding associated with the SBr sounds. As a result, they give a less sharp acoustic impression than their SBr counterparts.

(4) The sounds used in the apical stop categories /t, d/ range from fully retroflex to slightly post-alveolar sounds hardly distinguishable from SBr /t, d/.

c. Distributional

(1) While retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, Indian speakers usually add a /g/ in the medial position, and therefore pronounce *singer*, *ringer* to rhyme with *finger*.

(2) "Syllabic" /l, m, n/ are usually replaced by the sequences /əl, əm, ən/ (as in *button*), or, if a high front vowel precedes, by /ɪl, ɪm, ɪn/ (as in *little*).

(3) Consonant clusters in G.I. parallel those in R.P., except for changes due to absence of certain sounds (/v, θ, ð, ʒ/) and to "spelling pronunciations" (see below). Breaking them is a characteristic of regional or local substandard accents.

2.5. Vowels (including diphthongs and sequences with /r/ as relevant to the comparison).

Key Words :

General Indian

dear	bead		food	poor	
idea					
	bid		good		
			coat		
dare	made		court		
	maid		pour		
	bed	bird			
	bad	a'bout	caught	paw	boil
		bud	cot		
		'father			
		'farther			
		bard			
		bite			
		bout			

Southern British

	bead		food	
dear	bid		good	
idea				
	made	coat		
	maid			
dare		bird	court	poor
	bed		pour	
		a'bout	caught	boil
			paw	
	bad	bud	cot	
			'father	
			'farther	
			bard	
	bite			
			bout	

General Indian				Southern British			
iər (i:r)	i:	u:	uər (u:r)	i:		u:	
ia	I	U		ɪə	I	U	
e:ər (e:r) (ɛ:r)	e: (ɛ:) eɪ	o: o:r			eɪ	əʊ (ou)	
	ɛ	ər (ɜ:r) ə		ɛə	e	ɜ:	ɔə ʊə
	æ					ə/ʌ	ɔ: ɔɪ
		a: (ɑ:)	ɒ (:) (ɔ, ɔ:)		æ	ɒ	
		ar (ɑr)	ɔɪ (vɪ)				a:
		aɪ (ɔɪ)					
		aʊ (əʊ)					
					aɪ		aʊ (aʊ)

Summary of differences:

a. Phonemic

(1) General Indian has all the vowel *contrasts* of Southern British except that between *cot* and *caught*. (The sound employed by a given individual here may be [ɒ], [ɒɪ] [ɔ], or [ɔɪ] in different parts of the country, but the essential point is that there are not two contrasting sounds).

(2) In addition, General Indian has several contrasts which Southern British either does not have at all, as between *father* and *farther*, or has only marginally and optionally, as between *caught* and *court*, *paw*, *pour*, and *poor*.

(2) Some varieties of General Indian make a further contrast between *made* and *maid*.

b. Phonetic

(1) A monophthongal pronunciation of the sounds in the categories corresponding to SBr /e:/ and /əʊ/ is the rule (but see also Note 3 above), generally [e:] and [o:]. An opener long vowel [ɜ:] is sometimes heard in place of [e:].

(2) The vowel corresponding to S. Br. /a:/ usually is a more fronted [a:] variety, but a backed [ɑ:] is also heard.

(3) There is basically only one short central vowel, not phonetically distinct stressed and unstressed varieties as in SBr ([ʌ] and [ɪ]).

(4) Several categories are maintained and others are split into two through the pronunciation of /r/ after a vowel. Phonetically, this /r/ may vary from a strong trill (quite rare) through a flap and a fricative to a retroflex or retracted central vowel.

(5) Certain "diphthongs" may also be rendered as disyllabic sequences with a transitional [-j-] or [-w-]: e.g., in *India*. Such sequences are also usually found in place of the "triphthongs" of SBr: e.g., *our* = [əwə] (SBr [aʊə]).

c. Distributional

(1) Plain long vowels, not diphthongs, are used before medial /r/, e.g., *serious*, *furious*, *area* /'sɪəriəs, 'fjʊəriəs, 'eəriə/ (SBr/'sɪəriəs, 'fjʊəriəs, 'eəriə/).

(2) Vowels other than /ɪ/ and /ə/ are common in unstressed syllables.

(3) This has many effects: see "spelling pronunciation" below. One result is that final unstressed /ɪ/ is usually replaced by /i:/ (as in *city*, *nasty*, *seriously*).

2.6. Stress and Rhythm

a. General Indian is certainly not without stress. The difference in prominence between stressed and unstressed syllables may be less than in Southern British, and the relationship of prominence to pitch may be different, but both word-stress and sentence-stress are present.

b. In certain cases, the stressing may be different, however. Sometimes this is clearly due to analogical regularizing: GenInd 'photographer, SBr pho'tographer. Individual word stress has not been exhaustively studied; it remains to be seen whether it is predictable (as very largely in English

in any case) or contrastive, and in precisely what ways it differs from SBr or from other varieties of Standard English (which, it must be remembered, do exhibit differences here: Br. *la'boratory*, Am. *'laboratory*—also a variant in Br.). This much may be said: consistent misplacing of word-stress is a characteristic of regional substandard pronunciation rather than of General Indian.

c. General Indian is *not* stress-timed. Varying numbers of syllables between major stresses are not swallowed up or stretched out to mark out equal portions of time. Timing appears to be *mora*-, or syllable-weight-based.

2.7. Intonation

a. This is frankly a subject about which very little is known, since our study was concerned first of all with sorting out standard from substandard versions of segmental sounds, and the study of intonation in any case demands a much larger corpus collected and analyzed under very exacting conditions even in a speech-community presumed to be homogeneous, as ours was not. This much may be said, however: General Indian is *not* without intonation, yet its intonation patterns seem to be different both from those of Southern British and those of the various Indian languages. Work has yet to be done.

3. Use of sounds in particular words and morphemes: Indian "spelling pronunciation."

3.1. The tendency not to weaken vowels in unstressed syllables, together with the fact that English has been learned mainly from books, has resulted in a pronunciation of many words or word-parts that is closer to what the spelling might reasonably be understood to represent than to what is used in other varieties of modern English.

- a. Many of these involve prefixes, suffixes, and bound roots spelled with *e*, and pronounced with /ɛ/ in Gen Ind where SBr has /i/: e.g., *wanted*, *washes*, *except*, *perfect* (adj.), *develop*, *useless*, *goodness*, *tallest*, *object* (n.), etc.
- b. The plural and possessive endings in nouns and the simple present third person singular endings in verbs, spelled with *s*, are pronounced with /s/ and not voiced to /z/ after voiced sounds: e.g., *John's*, *reads*, *needles* /jɒns, ri:dz, ni:dzls/.
- c. The past suffix *ed* is not devoiced to /t/, but remains /d/ even after voiceless consonants: e.g., *kicked* /kɪkd/.

- d. Unstressed syllables with *a* in the spelling are often pronounced /æ/: e.g., *mechanism* = /mekænɪzəm/; those with *a* plus consonant letter plus silent *e* are pronounced with /eɪ/: e.g., *village* /vɪleɪdʒ/.

3.2 English spelling is sometimes an unsure guide to *stressed* vowels and to consonants. Occasional false analogies lead to such things as *quality* with an /æ/, *grammar* and *examination* with an /a:/, *target* with a /j/, *wool* with an /ʊz/, *shepherd* with an /f/. How common these are is difficult to say: our sample is not large enough to come to any conclusions about individual words. It is probably safe to say that the more unusual deviations are of the nature of sporadic individual "mistakes"—often correlating at the same time with a substandard sound system. The commoner ones may be part of the teaching tradition, however, in some cases stemming from Scots teachers, at least where vowels are concerned.

4. Standard vs. Substandard Indian

4.1 The first problem in setting up a standard pronunciation for a country is to separate it from substandard pronunciations which will also be found, by appropriate criteria. In India, the criterion of education is not appropriate, since with certain obvious exceptions all users of English as a second language are "educated" to some extent. (Our sample was deliberately restricted, however, to those who learned and used English under "normal" Indian conditions. Persons educated abroad or by native English teachers in special schools have sometimes acquired other accents than the one described here. They have been excluded precisely because these circumstances are abnormal and not generalizable).

4.2 The most convenient criterion was non-regionalism vs. specifically traceable regional or local "mother tongue" accent. This also happens to correlate with lesser vs. greater deviation from either R.P. in particular or what might be called the "overall standard English norm" in general.

4.3 The term "substandard" as applied to accent ("unsatisfactory" might be better) must be understood with qualification. It does not necessarily mean the speaker's English in general is substandard, only his pronunciation is. One may have a very imperfect accent but still speak absolutely standard English grammatically, and indeed use the language with great skill and effectiveness, as do many people with "foreign" accents. ("Unsatisfactory" native accents are much more likely to correlate with substandard grammar and word usage.)

4.1 The points on which General Indian differs from Southern British are common to all the regional and local accents as well. To them each one adds further features peculiar to itself—generally in the nature of more radical departures from the overall English norm.

4.5 An important point to be noticed is not only that GenInd speakers exist in considerable numbers, but that even speakers with the "worst" local accents do not exhibit such features consistently. They seem to aim at General Indian, from which they "slip" occasionally or often back into such habits and it is from this norm that their problems can most easily be plotted. If any other accent is taken as the norm, however, an overwhelming percentage are seen to be hopelessly far from the goal, which then seems impossible of attainment.

5. Evaluation of General Indian as a teaching norm; possible issues; recommendations; Prescriptive Standard Indian

5.1 General Indian is almost 100% intelligible throughout India (which is after all the primary consideration in spoken English for the overwhelming majority of its users) and widely so overseas. (Regional and local English is markedly less so on both counts—as low as 35% between varieties peculiar to opposite ends of the country.) Why not then simply adopt it as the standard without further ado?

5.2 Unfortunately, we cannot resist the temptation to tamper with things and make them more difficult. In fairness, however, our selected norm can afford to be slightly prescriptive. It must be remembered that our General Indian is not the result of accidental, undirected forces. If an organized effort is made, it might be possible to bring about certain changes or "reforms" in it—provided the points selected for attack are few enough and the change is sufficiently desirable. Let us consider each area of "deviation" from Southern British from this point of view.

5.3 Merely phonetic differences are usually best left alone, since by definition they do not affect the essential meaning contrasts. There are certain borderline cases, however, where a phonemic distinction might be better safeguarded than at present if a little tampering were done:

- a. In parts of South India, and occasionally elsewhere as well, a very open [ɛɪ] is used for /eɪ/, which is in danger of being mistaken for /ɛ/ or even /æ/. We might be advised to teach /eɪ/ in these areas (thus ignoring the artificial distinction between *made* and *maid* these speakers maintain).

- b. The distinction between "voiced" and "voiceless" (better, "fortis" and "lenis") stops in English is as much a matter of aspiration as of voicing, especially in the all-important stressed syllable of a word, which aspiration also helps to mark. The absence of aspirated allophones in North Indian speech is based on misinformation, not on any underlying difficulty. It is a kind of spelling pronunciation. If the speakers were aware of which stops to aspirate and which not, they could do so without the slightest difficulty and thereby remove a frequent source of confusion, at least for foreigners. Therefore, it is suggested that this be tried for northern learners. (As has been noted previously, it is not necessary for southern learners).
- c. The phoneme /p/ should be exempt from this, however, since there is a tendency to confuse aspirated [ph] with /f/ throughout India. (No problem arises with the other aspirated sounds.) /p/ is in fact consistently aspirated than the other stops in native English.
- d. A question might be raised regarding the categories /θ, ð/ corresponding to SBr or GenAm /θ, ð/. The distinction between them and /t, d/ is theoretically preserved, but it has been pointed out that a native English speaker is not able to appreciate this distinction. General Indian is not alone in this respect: this shift from fricative to stop is said also to be characteristic of Irish English and of the urban dialect of New York City. In both cases, the influence of other languages is involved, however, and other English speakers fail to appreciate the /θ, t/ distinction in their cases also. But it is to be remembered that *internal* intelligibility is our main concern. The fricative sounds are difficult to produce, and the existing sounds do the job for Indian purposes. Even for foreign purposes, the main problem is /θ/, the difference between /θ/ and /ð/ being very difficult to detect and of only marginal importance.

5.4 Even when it comes to the "essential phonemic contrasts," we must remember that different forms of spoken Standard English do vary in the number of such contrasts they maintain, as well as merely phonetically. This variation, however, will always be found to concern vowel phonemes. All forms of spoken Standard English agree on maintaining the same number of consonant contrasts

- a. Therefore, to qualify as a less aberrant form of spoken Standard English, General Indian should be enriched with the missing consonant phonemes /ʒ, v, w/. With /v/ and /w/ it is a matter of

learning to use existing allophones in unaccustomed positions, although a more exaggerated differentiation of the two sounds is also to be recommended.

- b. When it comes to vowel and diphthong contrasts, however, (among which we must include vowel + /r/ sequences) not only is some latitude permitted here, but existing General Indian actually comes off better than R.P., with 21-22 contrasting categories instead of 18-20. The one contrast that is missing, that corresponding to R. P. /ɜ/ and /ɔ:/, affects far fewer word-pairs than the contrasts which are entrenched in General Indian but absent or dying out in R. P. Moreover, these two vowels are used interchangeably in R. P. before /f, s, θ/. Therefore, the GenInd vowels may be left as they are. (But see remarks on [ɜ:] vs [ei] above).
- c. The basic task therefore concerns not so much altering the GenInd inventory of sounds, but helping all learners to attain it, and guiding them in the proper use of these sounds in particular words—that is, helping them avoid “spelling pronunciations” which are regarded as incorrect.

5.5 Not all “spelling pronunciations” are to be regarded as incorrect, however. Which are and which aren’t is a matter which must be carefully discussed, preferably after more adequate word surveys are made, bearing in mind possible legitimate archaism or Scots influence on pronunciation, and the fact that the use of strong vowels in unstressed syllables is characteristic of most overseas English—Australian, American, Canadian, and South African, as well as Indian, Scots, and Irish.

5.6 With stress again it is largely a matter of providing information on the placement of stress in particular words in order to bring stress patterns into line with native English norms. But again certain differences with them, in the direction of smoothing out irregularities, might be regarded as acceptable and standard for India: e.g., ‘*photographer*. A list of these should be drawn up.

5.7 With regard to intonation, not much can be said in the absence of concrete studies. Yet the solution is not simply to attempt to impose all the SBr intonations as found in the standard textbooks. On the one hand, intonation is indeed very basic to language, to intelligibility, and especially to connotation. Yet on the other hand, there is probably no point on which dialects and even local varieties of a language differ more. Southern British seems to have, among forms of spoken English, an intonational system that is rather on the elaborate side, as does Southern American

General American, Scots, and Australian get along, on the whole, with simpler systems. What the *common factors* are to all these different systems, and therefore to be regarded as "essentials" to be mastered by foreign learners is a problem that has yet to be investigated.

5.8. Prescriptive Standard Indian:

a. Consonants

ph/p	th	th/t	ch/c	kh/k
b	d	d	ʒ	g
m	n			ŋ
	l			
f	s		f	h
v	z		ʒ	
w	r		j	

b. Vowels

iə	i:		u:	uə
ia	i		U	
eə (e:r)	e: (eɪ)	ə	o: o:r	
	ɛ	ə		
ɜ:			θ(:)	ɔɪ
			a:	
			ar	
			aɪ	
			aʊ	

- c. Use of sounds in words : to be taught through a local transcription.
 - (1) Usually follow SBr in stressed syllables ; *after, past, wool*.
 - (2) Certain exceptions to be noted : *furious, grammar*.
 - (3) Strong vowels allowed in unstressed syllables in some cases, especially affixes and structure words : *useless, wanted, expire*.
- d. Stress : to be taught through marking.
 - (1) Usually follow SBr.
 - (2) Favoured exceptions to be noted : '*photographer*.
- e. Intonation : no recommendation.
- f. Rhythm : no recommendation ; perhaps best left alone, in view of the other characteristics of GenInd.

ENGLISH SOUND DISCRIMINATIONS DIFFICULT FOR INDIAN LEARNERS WITH VARIOUS LANGUAGE BACKGROUNDS

* = difficult

+ = serious phonetic problem—not maintaining the quality of /i,u/

d = known to be a problem for non-standard dialect speakers

Discriminations in prescriptive standard Indian	Manipuri	Assamese	Bengali	Oriya	Dialectal Hindi Eastern	Dialectal Hindi Western	Standard Hindi	Urdu	Punjabi	Kashmiri	Gujarati	Marathi	Telugu	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam
i:/ɪ beat/bit	*	*	*	*	*						*	*	+	+	+	+
u:/ʊ pool/pull	*	*	*	*	*						*	*	+	+	+	+
e: ≈ eɪ/ɛ main/men	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
æ/ɛ men/man	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
e: ≈ eɪ/æ main/man													*	*	*	*
aɪ/æ mine/man						*	*									
aɪ/ɔɪ buy/boy													*	*	*	*
ɑ:/ɒ(:) last/lost													*	*	*	*
o:/aʊ know/now													*	*	*	*
ɒ(:)/aʊ gnaw/now					*	*	*	*								
ɔr/ar further/farther	*	*	*	*												
vowel / j + vowel h + vowel (it/hit) w + vowel													*	*	*	*
p[ph]/f pan/fan	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
b/v berry/very	*	*	*	*	*	*										

Discriminations in prescriptive standard Indian	Manipuri	Assamese	Bengali	Oriya	Dialectal Hindi Eastern	Dialectal Hindi Western	Standard Hindi	Urdu	Punjabi	Kashmiri	Gujarati	Marathi	Telugu	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam
s/f sip/ship	•	•	•	•	•	•							d		d	
ʃ/ʒ ledger/leisure	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	d	d	d	d
z/ʒ visit/vision	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•					
ʃ/ʒ jealous/zealous				•	•	•	•								d	d
f/ʒ tension/vision													•	•	•	•
s/c search/church		•	d	d									d		d	
s/z peace/peas															•	•
v/w vest/west	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
r/l read/lead	•	•	d	d	d											
voiced stops/ voiceless stops bus/pus															•	•